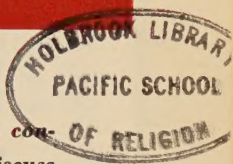


Social Progress



In the Presbyterian Church all judicatories and local congregations have the right and the duty to study and discuss social issues that may be called "controversial." . . .

Church members should be encouraged to look upon service in a particular political party as an effective method for Christians to witness and work for good government. . . . Christians can never give uncritical support to everything a party stands for or to every one of its candidates. On the other hand, they cannot avoid party participation lest they make their faith politically irrelevant.

—General Assembly Pronouncements, 1955

A Christian's Guide to Political Action

JUNE

1956

Social Progress

Published by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., to provide a forum for the Church on subjects of social concern for Christians. It includes program resources, legislative developments, and guides to worship, study, and action for leaders of social action groups in local churches, presbyteries, synods, presbyterial and synodical societies. Articles represent the opinions of the

authors—not the official policy of the Department of Social Education and Action or of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

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From This Vantage Point...

MOST Presbyterians today would agree that the Church has a responsibility to influence the political order. The perplexing question upon which all do not agree is, How does this leavening influence of the Church come about?

To this question many churchmen would reply, "By the conversion of individuals, to the end that those who are now in politics, and those who will enter it, may be infused with love and a will to work for universal morality, justice, and brotherhood."

Certainly there is much truth here. The Church has a responsibility to the state to send into it men and women who know the love of Christ and can help make politics transmute love into justice under the law. This is no easy, unambiguous task for the individual, Christian or not, but we believe in it.

However, we are also aware of the reality of Gargantuan structures of political power which defy individual action based on love and compassion. These structures are primarily changed by the countervailing power of unified policy and group action. Even in a complex, technological society Christians can love—but "love without power merely surrenders the world to power without love."

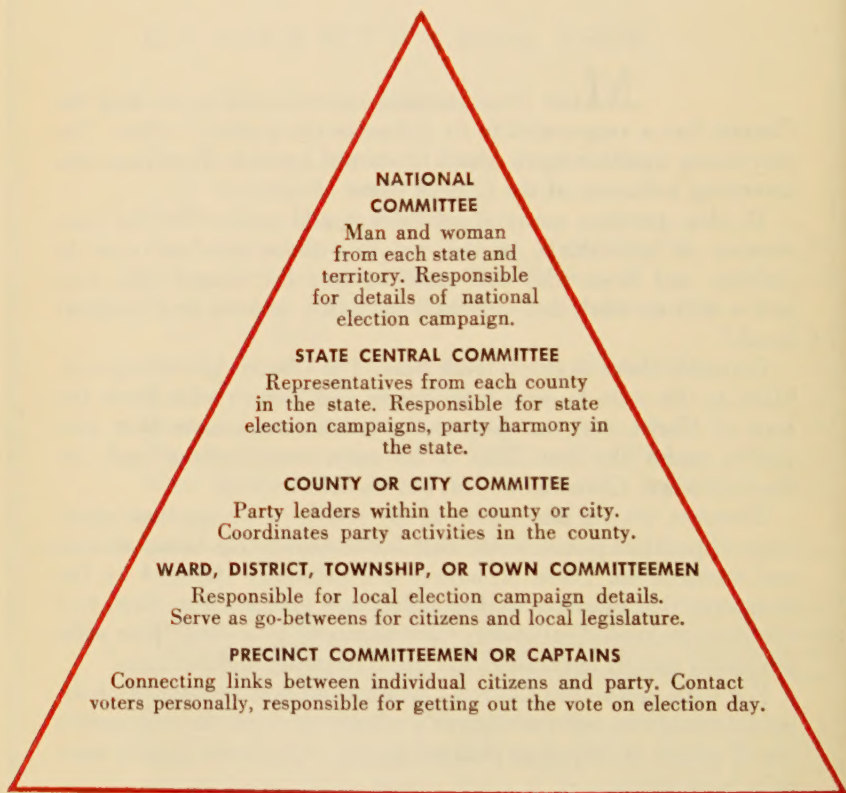
For both tasks—the Church's political witness through its individual members, and the Church's witness through the responsible use of power in corporate political action—Christians greatly need help from others.

This issue of *SOCIAL PROGRESS* has no pretensions of being comprehensive on the subject. Many things go unsaid, many problems are raised without solution, but it may be useful as an elementary guide to political relevance for individual churchmen and for the Church in this corporate expression, as the cutting edge of the *polis* of Christ which both judges and redeems the politics of men.

—The SEA Staff

The Party Pyramid

This chart represents, in a general way, the manner in which the major parties in the United States are organized from the local to the national level. It has well been called "the Party Pyramid."



There are some exceptions to this pattern of organization according to the rules and laws of the state in which the party operates. The chart itself—as are all charts—is an oversimplification of the actual situation. It would confuse more than clarify to attempt to picture the conventions, the caucuses, and the individual decisions of party leaders which create a dynamic political organization in any given state.

By KENNETH L. SMITH, *Associate Professor of
Applied Christianity, Crozer Theological Seminary,
Chester, Pennsylvania*

The Christian Citizen and Party Participation

Importance of Political Decisions

Whether we are aware of it or not and whether we like it or not, the future of the world is, humanly speaking, being increasingly determined by *political decisions*. The lives of all of us are affected by the issues that are determined in the arena of power politics. This is understandable when we recognize that the political institutions of our society, especially the Federal Government, have extended their powers into every aspect of our social structure. It is estimated that the scope and intensity of the operation of the Federal Government has increased almost one hundredfold since 1914. At the present time the activities of the Federal Government are so extensive that domestic prosperity and international peace are dependent upon the operations of this political organ. Whether schools will be erected and roads constructed, whether Social Security will be extended to more people, whether our public schools will be integrated, whether we will have peace in the Middle East depend upon political decisions, sometimes upon the machinations of corrupt and ignorant politicians. All

these issues—peace, freedom, security, health, education, racial justice—affect the lives of every citizen of the United States. The satisfactory resolution of these issues depends upon *political decisions* and *political policies*.

Determination of Political Decisions

It is true not only that political decisions are crucial, but also that many of the most crucial decisions are determined by the political machinery of the Democratic and Republican Parties. The political organizations choose the candidates and formulate policy. They determine not only who will run for office, but also the issues that will be carried to the people. At the present time these crucial decisions are determined by the six hundred thousand committeemen and committee-women who control the major political parties. It is estimated that these committee people exert about three hundred times as much power as the ordinary citizen who simply *votes*. The major political decisions, such as the selection of candidates and issues, have already been determined before an election. The individual exerts very little power when he has had no part in the selection

of the candidates and the determination of issues. The major political parties are the focus of political power because they determine the framework within which we citizens must make our choices.

If the major political parties are the major sources of political power, the concerned citizen must exercise his political rights within this context. The major political party seems to be the place where the greatest impact can be made. The so-called "Independents" exert very little *political* power. They sometimes contribute to the advancement of policies which they oppose. The lobby groups, with the exception of the small number devoted to public welfare, are concerned with the advancement of "special" interests. The Communist vote in Wisconsin contributed to the election of Joseph McCarthy to the U.S. Senate; the Natural Gas bill was literally rammed through Congress by a powerful lobby.

Recognizing these facts, it would seem that the major political parties, Democratic and Republican, are the most effective instruments of practical politics. In the long run, this is the place where the greatest impact is made and the general welfare enhanced. The major political parties are able to combine *power* and *policy* so that it serves the whole nation.

Christian Concern for Political Decisions

When we recognize the importance of political decisions and the decisive role of the major political parties, the Christian concern for practical politics comes to the fore-

ground. It is unfortunate that more Christians, especially Protestants, do not engage in partisan politics. Many Protestants eschew political activity. They dismiss politics as "a dirty mess" and characterize politicians as "a sad lot." From the point of view of most Protestants "religion and politics don't mix." So the control of political parties and the direction of political strategy go by default to those who are willing to employ the political machinery for the enhancement of their own selfish interests. "While saints are engaged in introspection," John Dewey said, "burly sinners rule the world."

We would ask those Christians for whom politics and religion don't mix to consider these observations. First, if politics is a "dirty mess," which it quite often is, it is not due to the inherent nature of politics but because "dirty" people are allowed to control the political machinery. Politics is the act of government. Ideally, it is the branch of moral philosophy that is concerned with the ethical relations of political institutions. Power may corrupt and absolute power may corrupt absolutely, but this is because "corrupt" individuals are permitted to control the political machinery. Politics can function properly only when clean and incorruptible people engage in political activity.

Secondly, it should be pointed out that one cannot champion democracy, which every American does, and at the same time repudiate active participation in practical politics. *Practical politics* is the instrument of the democratic process. Furthermore, practical politics depends

upon *political organizations*. Therefore, the repudiation of practical politics leads to the repudiation of democracy.

There is truth to the assertion that an indifferent citizenry often receives just about what it deserves. And Plato's sage remark is still applicable to the twentieth century: "The penalty that good men pay for indifference to public affairs is to be ruled by evil men." Unless we Protestants become more concerned about practical politics, there is always the distinct possibility that we *will* be ruled by evil men. The continuation of democracy is contingent upon the activity of honest and intelligent citizens. To be sure, we Protestants do not have a monopoly upon honesty and intelligence, but we do have the theological and ethical presuppositions that are able to produce citizens with these traits.

The Christian in Politics

What kind of Christians do we need in politics? Is it enough merely to be an affiliate of one of the trunk-line Protestant denominations and exemplify the traditional Puritan virtues? No! This is hardly enough. But this is usually the only criterion that we employ. This means that the Protestants who are concerned about politics employ *nonpolitical criteria*. They tend to emphasize personalities rather than policies; they think in terms of platitudes rather than issues; they look at surface phenomena rather than the broad political questions regarding policies and programs. For example, J. Strom Thurmond, the Dixiecrat candidate in 1948, was acceptable

because he was a teetotaler although he ran on a racist platform. Harry Truman was unacceptable because he employed non-Sunday school language to describe Drew Pearson, although he was concerned about civil rights. We praised Chiang Kai-shek because he was a "good Methodist" and ignored his corrupt military regime. We protest corruption in the form of fur coats, deep-freezes, and free excursions to Florida, but we raise no questions about Dixon-Yates, the Cheese Deal, the Natural Gas Lobby. The Protestant ministers in the geographical locality with which I am familiar have become concerned only once in nine years about the political situation. On this occasion the issue boiled down to a Catholic versus Protestant controversy. The candidates with a Protestant affiliation were endorsed on both sides for no other reason than the fact that they were Protestants. Denominational affiliation was the only criterion; issues were not even mentioned.

The individualistic and moralistic approach, typical of Protestant politics, ignores almost completely the ethical and moral dimensions of political decisions. Practical politics is the art of acquiring power and the use of power for the advancement of certain policies. The ethical and moral questions arise about the acquisition of power and about the policies that are pursued. Therefore, the fundamental questions are not those pertaining to the personal character of the individual, although these are important, but those regarding the policies he pursues, the people who support him, and the interests he represents.

We need Protestants in politics, but we need certain kinds of Protestants. Furthermore, we need certain attitudes among Protestants regarding candidates and issues. The politically relevant question about Protestants in politics is not the question of denominational affiliation. We need Protestants who will support policies and programs that will enhance the freedom and security of all Americans, regardless of race or creed. We need Protes-

tant voters who will make their choices on the basis of other reasons than that Roosevelt's sons had a habit of getting divorces, Al Smith was a Catholic, Adlai Stevenson is divorced and is a Unitarian, and Dwight Eisenhower is a "good Presbyterian." We need Protestants in politics, but we need Protestants who understand the ins and outs of practical politics and who support policies and programs which represent all United States citizens.

For Study and Discussion

1. "... The future of the world is, humanly speaking, being increasingly determined by *political decisions*." Can the Christian who believes that the destiny of his life and the life of the world is "in the hands of God" believe this statement? Do the "facts" of life bear this out? Is there any way of speaking other than "humanly"? What is the relevance of the incarnation to this question?

2. Would our crucial questions be more quickly or more effectively solved if we had more than two major parties? Would this make it possible for "Independents" who do not participate in party politics to have more or less influence?

3. Do all people, including Christians, have "special interests," or are these generally limited to those who are impelled by profit-making or the desire for power and the control of others? What special interest, if any, has the Church? How shall we judge if a special interest is "right and good" or "false and evil"?

4. Should your minister engage in politics? Give the reasons for your answer. Are there any examples in the Bible of men of God participating in politics? What are the differences, if any?

5. "Politics can function properly only when clean and uncorruptible people engage in political activity." Are Christians necessarily such people? Why is a politician who is also a Christian better than one who is not?

6. Is the real test of Christianity its ability to produce a perfect political order? What does Christianity teach us about the possibility of perfection in man? What is Christianity "trying to do"?

7. Can a man who is immoral in his personal life make political decisions which are good for the country? Give the reasons for your answer. What would make a man who is moral in his personal life make better decisions?

8. What do such Christian values as repentance, forgiveness, love, and hope have to do with public service? What are their effect upon the politician himself if he possesses them? What are their effect upon his policy-making and power-wielding functions?

9. What are the responsibilities of the Church to the politician?

How to Organize an Election Bee

LAST year a group of Christian citizens in Baltimore who called themselves the United Christian Citizens, Inc., sponsored a city-wide program of political education called the "Election Bee." This report of how the program was organized among the electorate is in no way to be construed as an endorsement of United Christian Citizens, Inc., or its understanding of the role of the Christian citizen. But the group has developed an excellent device for grass-roots political education and discussion. It is reported here as a suggestion to others.

The U.C.C. contacted persons running for local political offices and asked them to be available for informal home meetings with interested citizens who agreed to call in neighbors and friends to hear the candidates.

After obtaining commitments from the candidates to appear upon

request, the U.C.C. distributed mimeographed suggestion sheets to its members and asked them to organize an "Election Bee" in their homes.

The project was highly successful, and a number of citizens who did not ordinarily participate in the Party organizations had an opportunity to both meet and talk with politicians in a most interesting and instructive way.

The "Election Bee" idea is one which may be commended to a social education and action committee or a group of politically sensitive persons in a local church. "Election Bees" could be organized on ward or precinct lines and perform a meaningful service to the church and community during an election year.

Here are some suggestions from the U.C.C. They can be enlarged upon or modified in accordance with the particular situation.

1. Have the person who agrees to have a "Bee" in his home select a convenient date and inform the chairman of the "Election Bee" committee by telephone or post card.

2. Ask the host or hostess to invite neighbors who live within two or three blocks of his home. The invitations should be extended either in person or by telephone.

3. A representative of the sponsoring group should attend the meeting and present the candidates to the invited guests.

4. Instruct your host or hostess to invite the guests as early as possible and then to remind them again on the day of the "Election Bee." The sponsoring group can also provide them with reminder slips if an extra safeguard seems necessary.

5. Most people in the Baltimore experiment found that only about one half of those who say they "will try to make it" actually come. Therefore, it is well to invite about twice as many people as can be accommodated. The number present will probably vary from six to twenty-eight, depending upon the size of the home and other factors.

6. Make your hostess feel that she is absolutely free not to serve refreshments; otherwise the program can easily become a burden on people who are willing to co-operate. If anything is served it should be simple—for example, coffee and doughnuts or cookies. No more!

7. Advise your people not to rearrange furniture. It will probably suffice simply to bring the kitchen and dining room chairs into the living room for the guests.

8. The Baltimore group reports that "one of the interesting by-products of the Election Bee was the promotion of neighborliness. Neighbors who had never before met have been brought together and enjoyed it. These Election Bees . . . have been just plain fun. So don't feel that you are burdening your neighbors. Most of them will be only too grateful to you for having been included!"

9. It will probably be necessary to mimeograph a page of instructions or suggestions similar to the above so that each person who agrees to hold a "Bee" in his home will know fully what is expected of him. After the sheets are prepared, you can contact the candidates through the local campaign headquarters, get your members and others to volunteer their homes, and then let the Bees swarm!

Conducting a Candidates' Meeting in the Church

A NUMBER of local church groups interested in political action have candidates' meetings for the purpose of giving their members an opportunity to hear the positions of persons running for political office.

Such meetings are usually well publicized in the local press and are open to anyone who desires to attend.

Set Up a Planning Committee

A local church SEA committee might be the planning and sponsor-

ing group for such a meeting. If there is no SEA committee, a few interested members could request permission from the session to hold such a meeting in the church. The pastor should be included in the plans and his advice sought relative to the use of the church facilities.

The committee will have to first decide which are the important offices whose candidates should be heard. If they are to be county or local candidates, it may be well to ask the candidates running for two

or more offices. It depends on how many candidates are in the field and what chance you have of receiving acceptances.

Some groups give a meeting of this kind a general topic such as "Christian Values at Stake in the Forthcoming Elections" or "Some Issues of Concern to Christians in the November Elections." You may want to ask the chairman or moderator of your meeting to be prepared to give a brief presentation on the relevance of Christian faith to politics. If there is a theological seminary nearby, the professor of Christian ethics or theology may be willing to take this assignment.

Write to each candidate whom you have decided to invite, outlining the object of the meeting and explaining the concern that Christians have for two or three important issues at stake in the election or within the jurisdiction of the offices for which these people are running.

Procedures at the Meeting

You may want to begin your meeting with an invocation and the singing of a hymn. A litany on the state or Christian citizenship would not be inappropriate.

If the chairman is the same person who will relate the Christian faith to the purposes of this meeting, he should begin with his own presentation. The chairman should also outline to the audience the proprieties of such a meeting, the basis on which the speakers have been invited to participate, and the questions the speakers were asked in the letters of invitation.

Someone who recognizes the candidate on sight should be stationed

at the door to welcome him upon arrival. If a number of candidates are expected to make brief appearances at this meeting, it is advisable that the person who receives him at the door write his name, party, and the office for which he is running on a slip of paper for the chairman.

It is customary in a large candidates' meeting to have several people alerted to the fact that candidates will arrive at different times and should be promptly spotted and ushered to the front. It is best not to wait until all are on hand before starting.

There are several variations of the candidates' meeting which are perhaps more suitable for a church group. Other meetings may feature a panel discussion among several candidates, a debate between two candidates running for the same office, or two separate meetings at which each candidate for a single office is given the opportunity to make one address followed by a question period.



Things to Remember

When You Write

IN THE course of the legislative year, you will want to use letters to keep in touch with representatives. In writing to your Congressmen, here are a few rules you should keep in mind:

(1) If possible, your first letter should be of a positive nature. Don't forget that support of a legislator's stand is as important as criticism. Frequently he needs encouragement, particularly when he has taken a courageous stand on a controversial problem. His office usually keeps files of his letters, and later on if you write criticizing his stand on another subject, your first letter will indicate that you are not just a "perpetual griper."

(2) It is better to ask a question on which you want an answer. Make it a question that requires more than a "yes" or "no" answer.

(3) Ask for a reply showing where your Congressman stands on an issue. You can then pass on your information to other voters in his district.

(4) Write about one point only in one letter. This makes it easier for your Congressman to count "for" or "against" on any issue; it also makes it harder for him to avoid answering some of your questions.

(5) Be courteous, respectful, and brief.

(6) Write useful letters. A well-

written, thoughtful letter in which you tell your Congressman your ideas and the reasons for your viewpoint on a bill he is considering, gains his attention and respect, and often is a real help to him. If you have some special connection or experience with the subject under consideration, say so—but with humility.

The letter may be typed or handwritten; use your usual method of letter-writing. Do not use a form letter given to you by a local organization; the staffs of Representatives and Senators compare these letters, and discount them accordingly. The formal method of addressing Senators and Representatives is "The Honorable John S. Jones, Senate (or House) Office Building, Washington 25, D.C." To begin simply "Senator John S. Jones, . . ." is just as adequate. The exact form of salutation is not so important as the act of writing to him.

If you type your letter, send a copy to your local newspaper. Many of the "Letters to the Editors" are shortened versions of just such mail—and you may help others to formulate their ideas. Finally, you might send a copy of your letter to the city or county committeeman in your Congressman's party. Congressmen often check with these men about the people who write to them.

How to Address Your Representatives

National	State	Local
The President: The President of the U.S. The White House Washington, D. C. My dear Mr. President:	The Governor: The Hon. John Doe Executive Chamber Albany, N. Y. My dear Governor Doe:	Mayor: The Hon. John Doe City Hall New York, N. Y. My dear Mayor Doe:
Senators: The Hon. John Doe Senate Office Building Washington, D. C. My dear Senator Doe:	State Senator: The Hon. John Doe Senate Chambers Albany, N. Y. My dear Senator Doe:	City Councilman: The Hon. John Doe City Council New York, N. Y. My dear Mr. Doe:
Members of the House of Rep.: The Hon. John Doe House Office Building Washington, D. C. My dear Mr. Doe:	Assemblyman: The Hon. John Doe Assembly Chambers Albany, N. Y. My dear Mr. Doe:	County Commissioner: The Hon. John Doe County Court House (County Seat, State) My dear Mr. Doe:

(The names of chairmen and members of major Senate and House committees are available in the free pamphlet *Register Christian Opinion*, prepared by The Commission on World Peace of The Methodist Church, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Illinois.)

A Model Letter

(This is intended to show one type of letter which can be effective, and is not, of course, the only recommended form.)

The Hon. John Jones
Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Rural Route 3
Johnstown, Nebraska
June 1, 1956

My dear Senator Jones:

I should like to urge your support of the appropriation of \$14.5 million for the UN Children's Fund, now under consideration by the Senate. I feel that the work of this organization is very constructive, and I am glad to see that you have voted for the program in the past.

Recently I received a description, from a friend who has been traveling in the Far East, of the great developments that have come about in the care of young mothers and children in India. Surely the saving of so many young lives is a tremendously worth-while task—and will bring friendship to the United Nations and the United States.

I wonder if you can tell me whether the United States is considering using some of our surplus foods for distribution by groups like the Children's Fund, in addition to direct appropriations? Has such a proposal been made to the Congress?

Again, let me urge your continued support of this important and humanitarian work. Can we be anticipating your vote for this appropriation?

Very sincerely,
John Citizen

Purpose
Commendation

Personal
observations
or information

Direct question
will help ensure
an answer.

Ask him to
state where he
stands.

The Christian Citizen and Public Policy Formation

A FRANK, private talk with an honest, well-informed Government official is for the average Christian either a refreshing and stimulating experience or a shocking and frustrating one, depending upon what he brings to the conversation. It will be refreshing if he is willing to look realities in the face without permitting a flood of moralistic platitudes to well up within him; it will be shocking if he naively assumes that his participation within the sinful economic, racial, vocational, and religious structures peculiar to himself is unavoidable and therefore "normal," while the politician's participation within the sinful framework of the political arena is somehow avoidable and therefore monstrous.

From two such frank conversations with such an official and some observations from a recent article by Harlan Cleveland ("Survival in the Bureaucratic Jungle," *The Reporter*, April 5, 1956) come the following elements of the process of policy formation at the national level. These are important to the Christian's understanding and to the Church's action if the faith they confess is to be relevant.

The first thing to bear in mind, as the official suggested, is that pol-

icy formation today is probably "not what you as a Christian think it is, or would perhaps like to believe it to be." A hundred years ago the United States Congress had to face in an average session two or three really crucial issues that resolved themselves, after vigorous and often violent debate, into questions of principle. The average session of Congress today faces, according to one estimate, from 125 to 175 crucial issues of which few, if any, can be resolved and decided on the basis of principle, because a modern issue usually involves three or four principles on each side, most of them "good" and most of them in irreconcilable conflict.

A hundred years ago the typical law laid down a rule of conduct that applied equally to all persons as individuals. Today the typical law applies to a special group of persons (usually an economic grouping) and contains four parts: (1) A statement as to the purpose of the law; (2) a statement naming the group whose welfare the law is supposed to protect or enhance; (3) the creation of a bureau or agency empowered to carry out the purpose of the law; and (4) a statement of the bounds within which the agency must operate, i.e., a definition of its powers and responsibilities. It is

not rare to have two or more agencies with conflicting purposes, as, for example, one to keep farm income high as over against one to combat inflation.

Such laws are one inevitable consequence of the industrial revolution in a country governed by a representative system with executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The industrial revolution helped divide our country into a multitude of special interest groups (and groups of groups), each with a peculiar, vested concern in its own economic welfare. These economic (or vocational) groupings in time acquired varying degrees of political power geared frequently to their own self-interest, and more rarely to the national interest as seen through the knothole of their own set of economic, social, and political values. One of the major factors in the process of policy formation is the powerful influence (a euphemism for *pressure*) of these economic groups.

This influence is exerted most overtly on the legislative branch through Congressional committees that are composed of representatives of many subsections of a general section and who have the highest political stake in the business of the committee (e.g., the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry—Eastland of Mississippi, cotton; Hickenlooper of Iowa, corn and hogs; Schoeppel of Kansas, wheat; etc.). It is felt more subtly in the executive branch, many of whose departments, bureaus, and agencies play primarily a protective role for certain economic groups (e.g., the Departments of Agricul-

ture, Labor, Interior, and Commerce). Thus, as Harlan Cleveland points out, "the people" (i. e., the population *groupings* with special interests) are represented not only by over 500 elected representatives in Congress, but also by politically appointed surrogates in the departments, bureaus, and agencies of the executive branch. Cleveland refers to these groups, their professional lobbyists, their legislative committees, and their executive surrogates as "veto groups."

The way this system works in practice is that "it is considered normal and natural for a steel man to lubricate with Government contracts the growth of steel production; for a housing man to get more housing built by having the Government absorb a good part of the risk; for a farmers' representative to promote aid for farmers from inside the Department of Agriculture; for a labor organizer temporarily in the Government to promote the right of labor to organize." Cleveland concludes that "we have institutionalized the inside track" (*op. cit.*).

Administratively speaking, only one man in the Federal Government has the responsibility or the ability to represent all the people, the "public interest." Only one man stands high enough in the mountain range of special interests to see over the heads of the lesser peaks of vested concern and partial perspective. That man is the Chief Executive, the President, who alone is chosen by a majority of the *whole* electorate. It is his job, as it is that

(Continued on page 23)

Our Responsibility as . . .

Christians and Citizens

CHRISTIANS in America should give God the thanks for abundance of food, industrial productivity, democratic institutions, wide employment, our form of government, and mankind's hope for peace. We confess Christ to be Lord of all, in all, and through all—including political affairs and citizenship, political parties and candidates.

Christians should reflect the love of God who is the Father of all men—both black and white, Jew and Arab, American and Russian, rich and poor. The needs of all people must be primary; narrow sectional interests, vocational advantages, business, labor and farm pressures, secondary.

Christians should love their neighbors as themselves and therefore help the homeless refugees, the ill-housed, the jobless, the children who need schools and teachers, the nations that seek independence, and the races that demand equality of opportunity. We seek those things for others which we seek for ourselves.

Christians fulfill these responsibilities through active citizenship.

CITIZENS should take part in political life, work in the party of their choice to improve its practices and fulfill its promises.

Citizens should help develop an informed public opinion on important issues, using discussion, forums, radio, TV, and all the channels of communication toward that end.

Citizens should speak against practices of name-calling, accusation without proof, appeals to prejudice, wild promises that cannot be fulfilled.

Citizens should judge candidates by their stand on important issues, performance, and proved character rather than their appearance, mannerisms, or campaign slogans.

Citizens should find out what interests give support to each candidate and party, what they expect to gain by it, and what influence they would have upon the candidate if elected.

Citizens should register and vote. They should study the issues, the candidates, the pressures, and then put the general interests above private concerns.



Questions for Christians in 1956

*To whom much is given,
of him will much be required.—Luke 12:48.*

What You and Other Churchmen Can Do at Election Time:

- ◆ Hold an Election Bee in your home or church. Suggestions for arranging such a group may be found on page 9.
 - ◆ Form a group in your home or church to discuss our responsibility as Christian citizens. Get study material from the Department of Social Education and Action and your local or state League of Women Voters.
 - ◆ Study the voting records of the 84th Congress.
 - ◆ Quiz your candidates by letter or by personal interview, or in a "Candidates' Meeting" where all candidates air their views. Be prepared to ask questions that will make clear how candidates stand.
 - ◆ Tell others in your church about this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS and urge them to read it.
 - ◆ Support your pastor in such use of this issue as he can make in the program of the church and in his sermons.
 - ◆ Help in a campaign to see that every member of your church is a registered voter.
 - ◆ Send to Presbyterian Distribution Service for enough copies of the leaflet *Questions for Christians in 1956* to circulate among the members of your congregation. See page 30 for quantity rates.
 - ◆ Pray for all who vote and assist others on Election Day.
-

Party Politics at the Conventions

CONCERNING the American custom of national nominating conventions there have been both harsh and affectionate words. Dr. Carl Becker, writing in the *Yale Review*, March, 1945, said, "It is an American invention as native to the U.S.A. as corn pone or apple pie." On the other side, the Committee on Political Parties of the American Political Science Association reported in 1950, "It is unwieldy, unrepresentative, and less than responsible in mandate and action."

Some may argue that the raucous hullabaloo, the peroration which says nothing with many words, the banner waving, and all the din of aisle parades and hand clapping give the impression of a colossal masquerade party. Whether or not this kind of free and open market for cajolery, railroading, and deals is the only realistic process by which the Presidential nominating process could work under the American two-party system, it is probably one of the things the average citizen is thinking about when he expresses his distaste for politics as a "dirty" business.

The Christian, however, ought to be aware of the fact that things are seldom what they seem to be—at a Church meeting or a party convention. He needs the clear-sightedness to see what the real situation is behind the veneer that

is spread thinly over human sin, the confidence in democracy to change and correct its errors, and the grace to be involved in it without either excessive cynicism or optimistic acceptance.

The time and place of the national conventions are set by national committees with an eye to such factors as transportation facility, adequacy of hotel accommodations, the availability of large air-conditioned meeting places, the attitude of the region, and the willingness of business interests to finance the undertaking.

By the time the state delegations arrive in the convention city, the flood of political talk has already created an atmosphere of enthusiasm for certain candidates. Within minutes after they check in at the hotels, preliminary conferences and closed caucuses are called. Simultaneously there are meetings of representatives of various national pressure groups—labor, agriculture, business, citizens' groups, and Church organizations—for the purpose of planning how to capture delegates favorable to their candidate and to influence the party platform.

A convention opens amid the drama and pageantry of banners, emblems, and party fervor. Before the nominating speeches and the balloting on Presidential candidates

begin, there are reports from three of the four important committees of the convention—

the Committee on Permanent Organization

the Committee on Rules and Order of Business

the Committee on Credentials

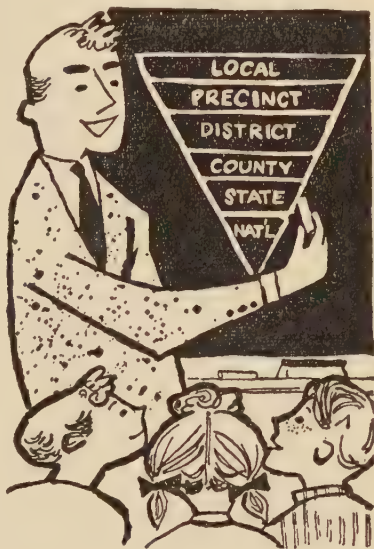
the Committee on Resolutions (platform).

The report of the Credentials Committee and the seating of delegates often set off the first skirmishes as contending delegations from the same state assert their right to be received as the only bona fide representatives of the party in that state.

The party convention is not so much for the purpose of agreeing upon policy as it is for nominating. Controversies on a party platform may, indeed, be long and bitter, as was the debate over civil rights in the Democratic convention of 1948, but the convention is more often bent upon the nominating process, and accepts the party platform with little or no debate. The main business of the convention is to nominate the Presidential candidate and to develop the party harmony necessary to victory in the coming general election.

After several days of preliminaries, the voting begins in a colorful and emotion-charged atmosphere. The name of each candidate is placed in nomination by a prominent supporter whose purpose is to make the convention feel that his candidate alone offers salvation to the party and to the nation. At the close of each nominating speech a prearranged demonstration on behalf of the candidate begins—a

parade with banners, slogans, symbols moves through the aisles and around the immense arena in which thousands of onlookers are seated. Then come the seconding speeches. Finally, with all nominations made and seconded, there begins the oral roll call of the states and territories in alphabetical order. A candidate must receive a majority vote of the convention to be nominated. When an incumbent President is willing to be nominated for a second term, his



nomination on an early ballot is assured; but the contest among a field of candidates which does not include an incumbent President may go on for many ballots. Before 1936, the Democratic convention rules required a two-thirds vote of the convention, and this often required many roll calls.

A state delegation may vote on the first ballot for the "favorite son" of its state. This is not only an honor to the favorite son, but is

often useful, in addition, to put the delegation in a bargaining position among the stronger candidates. Balloting in recent nominating conventions has not gone beyond ten ballots, and has generally been completed by the fifth or sixth.

Before the balloting begins, each state and territorial delegation has met and agreed (or agreed to disagree) upon strategy, which is greatly influenced by the method of voting, whether individually, or by bloc (the "unit rule"). The Republican Party rules contain provisions for protecting the voting rights of individual delegates, and "split" voting was the rule among Republican delegations of 1952. The Democratic Party will enforce a unit rule if adopted by state party authorities, and about one half of the Democratic delegations generally vote this way. This lack of consistency in the Democratic Party has frequently been the target of attack, based on the seeming unfairness of subordinating the individual votes

in some state delegations and not in others, where bare majorities within delegations are allowed to cast the entire vote of the state.

Whatever the method—bloc or individual voting—balloting on the floor is often slowed up by the requests of individual delegates for the polling of their delegations.

Television in 1952 brought the conventions into millions of American homes and created a new and larger climate of opinion. There is no doubt that many citizens today feel that the conventions, as now run, are in the hands of a few key leaders; that they thwart the democratic will of the people and are a mockery of our democratic processes. Those who feel this way are eager to bring about reforms in the method of nominating candidates for the Presidency. The debate among the defenders and the reformers of the nominating conventions, as now conducted, promises to become more spirited.

How to Run a One-Man Campaign

"Political democracy, as it exists and practically works in America, with all its threatening evils, supplies a training school for making first-class men. It is life's gymnasium, not of good only, but of all."—Walt Whitman.

YOU get into politics through an organization: a citizen's committee, an interest group, a political party, a nonpartisan get-out-the-vote drive, etc.

But not all independent voters have either the opportunity or the inclination to work with a group. This is addressed to those who, for the moment, are not ready, willing,

or able to work with a group. Yet they would like to be effective politically—on their own.

There are things the individual can do. And some of the skills he or she picks up in solo effort may turn out to be of considerable worth when the individual joins an organization. In “life’s gymnasium,” to use Whitman’s description of political democracy, an individual workout can prepare the citizen more adequately for team play.

Here’s what you can do—a round ten suggestions.

1. Be sure that *you* register and *you* vote.

2. Acquaint yourself with the rules on who is eligible to vote, in preparation for the time when you ask others to vote. You can generally get the rules from your Secretary of State or your Board of Elections. Sometimes, the answer you get will be embodied in a difficult-to-comprehend document. You might then try to get the information from one of the local political party clubs or from the League of Women Voters—who also advise men voters. Not uncommonly, the AFL-CIO or the Junior Chamber of Commerce can provide the information.

3. Make a list of people you know whom you would like to see turn out to vote on Election Day. Start with immediate family, move on to not-so-immediate family, friends, neighbors, professional associates, workmates, grocer, deliveryman, elevator man, auto mechanic. You’ll be amazed at how long that list gets.

4. Inform yourself on issues. You can supplement your usual sources—newspapers, magazines, radio, and

television—with easily acquired literature on a variety of issues. At the end of this chapter we list some of the places to write. Much of this literature is free.

5. Put your information to work with your list of contacts. Don’t wait for campaign periods to talk political issues. The earlier you start, the better. In a campaign, you are just another in a babel of voices. In a precampaign period, you are exchanging thoughts on a person-to-person rather than campaigner-to-voter basis. Become known as an oracle of political information at home, office, workshop, club.

6. Influence the mediums of communication. If you like a radio or TV comment, hasten to say so. Let the speaker know and let his sponsor know too. Use the “Letter to the Editor” columns in your newspapers and magazines.

7. Tell your public officials what you expect of them. It may help educate your public official; it will certainly help educate you about your public official when you find out how he acted on your request; it will give you firsthand knowledge in discussing candidates and issues with your contacts.

8. Contribute to campaigns. Give what you can give, for every dollar counts. (The money is *not* tax-deductible.) Give early, for a dollar spent three months before Election Day is worth three dollars spent a week before Election Day.

9. Use the mails to remind your contacts to register and then to vote. Suggest that each write to several others, just as you are doing. A personal letter, please, since you’re

doing this solo and should get the one real advantage of such a personalized operation.

10. The day before Election Day and Election Day itself, sit on the phone all day long. This seems to be easier for women than for men, but both sexes can put this last-minute reminder to good use with their contacts.

After you do this for several campaigns, you will undoubtedly decide that it might be better to work as part of an organization. But even

if you do, you will have wasted nothing in your solo flight into politics. You will be a more valuable member of the team.

The following are organizations to which you may write for material on a variety of issues. Usually the name is self-explanatory. Some of these organizations are "liberal," some "conservative," and some "reactionary." The viewpoints they express are not necessarily those supported by General Assembly pronouncements.

American Association for the United Nations, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y.
American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.
American Federation of Labor, AFL Building, Washington 1, D. C.
American Legion, 77 N. Meridian Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
American Public Power Association, 1757 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
American Veterans Committee, 1751 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Americans for Democratic Action, 1341 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Congress of Industrial Organizations, 718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
Cooperative League of the U. S. A., 343 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago 4, Ill.
Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y.
League of Women Voters, 1026 17th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.
National Association for Mental Health, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.
National Association of Manufacturers, 14 West 49th Street, New York, N. Y.
National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.
National Economic Council, Empire State Building, New York, N. Y.
National Municipal League, 299 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.
U. S. Chamber of Commerce, 1615 H Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
United World Federalists, 125 Broad Street, New York, N. Y.

Coming Events—William Lee Miller has written a provocative series of lessons on "The Christian and Political Decisions" which will appear in the July-September, 1956, issue of *Crossroads*. This issue of **SOCIAL PROGRESS**, the *Crossroads* lessons, and *Questions for Christians in 1956* constitute a basic kit for use in intelligent preparation for the fall election.

General Assembly Pronouncements—1956, the report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action of the 168th General Assembly, will be available in pamphlet form for free distribution in the churches. The report, in full, will be published in the July issue of **SOCIAL PROGRESS**. Place your order now for copies for the members of your church, church officers, and program leaders.

PUBLIC POLICY FORMATION

(Continued from page 15)

of no other representative of the people, to see the situation whole, to maintain a complex set of administrative arrangements among the competing groups, to mediate between their conflicting interests, so that no one of them gets out of hand. Not that he as an individual makes the decisions, but that he is the one who must consider and then reconcile, discount or blend the views, pressures, personalities, and interests of all concerned groups. He does this through various integrating executive committees like the Economic Advisory Committee and its counterparts in other areas. This integrating influence of the Chief Executive and advisory groups constitutes the second major factor in public policy formation.

A **third factor** is the political party. It is important, but probably different from what the average voter believes. Behind the newspaper headlines and public hearings partisanship plays a remarkably small part. For example, in three fourths of the decisions made in *executive* sessions of Congressional committees the vote division is not on party lines. The press releases, the debates on the floor of Congress, the partisanship of public hearings are almost all made with at least one eye cast on the voters back home.

If this seems like Machiavellian expediency or sheer duplicity to the Christian, let him put the major portion of the blame where it belongs—on the voters, who force their elected representatives to act

like “politicians” in public so that they will still be around to act like statesmen behind the scenes. When the blocs of voters who do the electing are willing and able to see the “national interest” above their own, their representatives will also be able to act accordingly. The honest, responsible official must choose between withdrawing from politics or staying in politics. If he withdraws, he leaves a vacuum into which one is likely to come who is not willing or able to be a statesman even behind the scenes. If he stays, he must operate within the framework of the present system, which is *so far* the best in existence.

It is, for example, more democratic than its smaller counterparts in business and labor. The turnover in Government is comparatively high, or *can* be. The President of the United States, the Congressmen, can be voted out of office at regular intervals. Not so with the president of a corporation or a labor union.

The major role of the political parties is not substantive but functional. That is, the majority party in Congress controls the all-important committee memberships, determines which committees get what bills for consideration, and to some degree has the power to expedite or delay, kill or mangle certain vital legislation. The President's party, which may or may not be the majority party, has as a primary task the almost equally important job of securing appointees for the policy positions of the executive departments and setting up the

PRESSURE GROUPS



All kinds of groups call on public officials to act in their interests.

administrative machinery for their smooth functioning. This is one reason why the President's relationship with his party in Congress is so important.

On substantive issues, the party as party plays a minor role. For example, it is quite possible (and in fact, not at all unique) for a Southern Senator to vote against his party in disapproving the appointment to

a Federal judgeship of a good man who would be unacceptable to his constituents, *after* being sure that his negative vote will make no difference anyway.

The other major role of the party is to draft legislation that is (a) needed and has a good possibility of passing, or (b) needed, but has no possibility of passing now, or (c) not needed, but will fulfill a

political requirement. The political task of the President's party is always to speak for, *but not necessarily to support*, the President's program. The task of the opposition party is always to criticize, *but not necessarily oppose*, his program.

No major policy change can take place, either in the executive or the legislative, until and unless it commands itself to a substantial fraction (not necessarily majority) of each major economic and regional group. Legislation and policy change is not by simple majority. It must have the support of a broad base of the electorate groupings.

The fourth major factor in public policy formation is the analysis and findings of independent, nonpartisan technical research. Compared to 100 years ago, when principles played a major part, today technical facts, usually under dispute, play a paramount role, at an annual cost of from three to four billion dollars. The problem here is to see that the "truth," the "facts," are impartial and as complete as possible—that the objectives and perspectives of special interests are sifted out. No Government policy or program can be advanced (with any hope of passing) on the ground that it *appears* to some wise person or well-informed group to be "good" or "altruistic" or "Christian" or "honest." Its consequences, some of which are predictable, will determine whether it meets any of these criteria (however they may be defined). And these consequences can be evaluated only on the basis of a knowledge of "the facts" or as many of them as are available.

Whose judgment is trustworthy apart from his knowledge of "the facts," regardless of how noble his principles? And who is capable of ascertaining "the facts" in the almost unbelievably complex issues that are faced daily in government? Thus independent research, much of it carried on by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, plays a crucial role behind the scenes of policy formation, and bears the respect of the most responsible policy makers.

Four factors, then, operate immediately and crucially in the process: (1) the dispersive, conflicting influence of interest groups working through executive bureaus and their corresponding legislative committees; (2) the integrating influence of the Chief Executive and specially appointed advisory groups; (3) the political parties; and (4) technical research.

As a responsible and wise (but anonymous) public servant once pointed out, "The genius of our government is that nowhere in it can power be used irresponsibly over an extended period of time." Ultimately the people elect the officials who participate in this process at various levels and set its tone. They usually get, in the long run, about what they deserve.

The Church has at least two major responsibilities with respect to this process and the Christians who participate in it as politicians and public servants. The first one is to engage in the most effective long-range educational program of which it is capable, so that "the people" will begin to deserve, and hence

eventually get, something better. In order to do this, the Church must begin to see itself as, in fact, it really is—one of the more important molders of public opinion—and become wiser and more self-conscious in that role of shaping the political intelligence of its constituency.

The second and more immediate task of the Church is with reference to its members who participate in the political process as “professionals.” It must begin to appreciate the agonizing burden of guilt and responsibility that the sensitive public official—from the President on down—carries constantly with him, and take unto itself as its own that guilt. Otherwise the politician is forced, as many now believe themselves to be forced, to regard the Church as at worst irrelevant, and at best a kind of spiritual filling station, to persons whose vocation is government service or political action.

To put this second task of the Church another way, it is constantly to remind the Christian politician that he is a member of the Body of Christ, that he is under the judgment of God, that he is a recipient of the gospel, and that he stands in the same fellowship of grace as other Christians whose vocation is other than politics. The Church, and that means individual Christians as

well, is to preach (i.e., communicate) the good news of God’s forgiveness in Christ to the politician as to its other members.

Of course, if the Christian public servant manifests no sensitivity or awareness of his sinful involvement in the political process, as will most certainly be true from time to time, it becomes the Church’s task to proclaim to him (again as with any other Christian) the judgment of God and call him to repentance. Ultimately, of course, it is God the Holy Spirit who convicts of sin and brings men to an awareness of his mercy. But the Church is called to be the peculiar instrument by which God does this. And it can hope to speak neither judgment nor mercy meaningfully to the politician (or anyone else, but *particularly* to the politician), if it speaks out of a moralistic, holier-than-thou assumption of its own innocence.

The Church must recognize its own sin and that of *all* its members, and claim for all God’s grace in Jesus Christ. In short, it must not condone political expediency, but neither must it assume that political expediency is for the politician somehow “more sinful” before God or any less escapable than are the daily compromises that all of us make in order to live out our common life.

For Study and Discussion

1. What is the significance of the public official’s statement that policy formation today is probably “not what you as a Christian think it is, or would perhaps like to believe it to be”? What difference does it make in our approach to problems? if our notions of “what ought to be” are not informed by a realistic understanding of “what is”? How are our concepts of “what ought to be” modified by our own private ideas of how we would “like things to be”? Where do we get these private ideas?

2. Is bureaucracy "good" or "bad"? Is it avoidable or inevitable in the United States today? Where does one draw the line between enough Government supervision and too much? Use, for example, the problem of the involvement of the Federal Government in public education.

3. What is the difference between deciding a crucial issue "on principle" and deciding it on the basis of the data of the situation itself? Is the observing or acting person or persons also a part of the data? If so, what are the implications of this for true objectivity?

4. Is it inevitable in a democracy like our own to have two or more agencies of government which have conflicting purposes? Must the purposes necessarily conflict? If they must conflict, is "compromise" the surrender of a better or more worthy purpose to one which is less worthy? Should the Christian always try to avoid compromise at all costs?

5. The author says that economic power groups sometimes see the national interest "through the knothole of their own set of economic, social, and political values." Does the Church have such values? If so, where did they come from—really? Does the Church have a right to try to make its values universally accepted? If not, does this mean that the Church has nothing to say in these realms?

6. Should Christians try to change the system which has "institutionalized the inside track," or should they regard it as "given by God through Christ"? If they must change it, what are the dangers of doing this and how can they be lessened or avoided?

7. What is the significance of the fact that most of our Congressional committees do not vote along party lines on some of the most crucial issues?

8. Is there any Christian way to judge when it is better to withdraw from the system than to operate within its framework with serious doubt of its justice and worth? If one withdraws, to what place does he withdraw and why?

9. What role should technical information about the "facts" play in the Christian's decision about a particular political problem? Should he only make decisions whose consequences can be predicted and assessed in the light of his faith? If not, what is the meaning of "responsible decisions"?

10. In seeking to reach a worthy goal, how does the Christian politician or party worker draw the line between means that may be somewhat questionable and means that absolutely must be repudiated? If he must use questionable means to reach an end, on what basis does he explain it to others? What is a "good end"? Whose good? What does the Bible mean by "Seek first his kingdom . . . , and all these things shall be yours as well" (Matt. 6: 33)?

11. Must the Church limit its political witness to "long-range educational program," or can it take specific action in the power arena to press for policy decisions in accordance with its own objectives?

12. In the course of vying with other power groups, by means of integrated policy and group action, what prevents the Church from making power and institutionalism just as much an idol as the non-Christian groups do? Are the dangers of idolatry greater or less in the Church than in other groups? Are they greater in the Protestant Church than in the Roman Catholic?

13. What does it mean to say that the Church "is called to be the peculiar instrument" of God's judgment and mercy? How does this work (1) in relation to the individual public official? (2) in relation to the whole society? (See Eph. 3: 1-13, especially vs. 9, 10.)

The Pronouncements—

How You Can Use Them

EACH year the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., delivers pronouncements on the major issues before the Church and the world. Concerning the pronouncements and their authority for the Church, SOCIAL PROGRESS, July, 1955, carried the following statement which bears repetition here:

"If the General Assembly pronouncements are not binding upon the individual, if they are not enforceable and are merely 'suggestive, advisory, and ministerial,' then what is their value and their function? They have at least a fourfold value and function. In the first place, they sensitize and, we would hope, enlighten the minds of the Church. They encourage study and awareness of issues where otherwise there might be complacency and ignorance. In the second place, they guide thought and sometimes even modify attitudes. In the third place, they provide a lever which the Church can apply to public opinion and government and by which the Church can

make its witness in the secular world. And, in the fourth place, they support ministers and laymen who are taking action upstream against the popular and prevailing climate of opinion in their communities."

The 1956 pronouncements have an especial relevance to the political activity of Presbyterians this year. Many of the issues to which they are addressed will be the subjects of campaign speeches and party leaflets from now until November. The question each Presbyterian should consider before he goes to the polls is, Has my Church, in its studied and prayerful consideration of the issues of this election, said anything that throws light on what my decision as a Christian citizen should be?

Here are several ways you can use the pronouncements for study and action in your church and community.

- ♦ Ask the session to schedule a specific time for the study and discussion of the pronouncements. Get as many interested people to attend as possible.
- ♦ Get the local newspapers and radio stations to inform people of the stand your Church has taken on specific issues.
- ♦ Support and encourage the minister in preaching informative, provocative sermons dealing with one of the concerns in the pronouncements that relates to the November election.
- ♦ Ask the session (or your church SEA committee with permission of the session) to represent the church in community groups that are taking partisan positions in the elections. Encourage such representatives to interpret General Assembly pronouncements to such groups.

- ◆ See that every person in your church reads the pronouncements by either securing multiple copies or mimeographing them in brief form.
- ◆ Interpret the position of the Presbyterian Church at political and civic meetings during the campaign. Be sure to make clear what the pronouncements are and their true power. Don't overlay it.
- ◆ Encourage the local ministerial association or council of churches to sponsor a meeting on "Issues of Concern to Christians in the November Election," when the pronouncements of several of the national Churches can be interpreted and discussed.

What to Read

Books

Politics for Christians, by William Muehl. Association Press, 1956. \$3.00.

A primer on political action that shows the clergyman how to take a political stand without contaminating his pulpit, the layman how to engage in politics without compromising his conscience, and the professional politician how to apply Christian ethics without diluting his realism.

Morality in American Politics, by George A. Graham. Random House, Inc., 1952. \$3.50.

A scholarly discussion of morality in all areas of American politics.

Adventures in Politics, by Richard Neuberger. Oxford University Press, 1954. \$3.50.

A study of state government in all its aspects with an interesting appendix offering suggestions to citizens who want to take part in politics.

American Politics and the Party System, by Hugh A. Bone. McGraw-Hill Co., Inc., 1955. \$6.00.

Contains a complete description of the organization, function, and significance of political parties in the U.S. and also such related topics as the role of public opinion, television, and newspapers in politics.

Christian Ethics and Social Policy, by John C. Bennett. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946. \$2.00.

A simply written critique of four Christian social strategies and the development of a fifth strategy. An introductory book on basic social ethics.

The Divine Imperative, by Emil Brunner. The Westminster Press, 1947. \$6.50.

John C. Bennett calls it "the greatest book on Christian ethics written by a Protestant in our time." For advanced readers.

Christian Faith and Social Action. John A. Hutchison, editor. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953. \$3.50.

A symposium written by several of the leaders of Christian Action, including an essay on the history of the thought of the group.

Conscience and Compromise, by Edward LeRoy Long, Jr. The Westminster Press, 1954. \$3.00.

A basic book on the relating of the Christian faith to the decisions of every day.

The Christian in Politics, by Jerry Voorhis. Association Press, 1951. \$1.75.

Written out of the experience of the author as a politician, the book is addressed to Christian citizens of the U.S. It asks such questions as "Are There Christian Political Issues?" "Shall I Run for Political Office?"

The Psychology of Politics, by H. J. Eysenck. Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1954. \$6.00.

This is an original and scientific attempt to discover why people believe, vote, and act as they do; the pressures they are susceptible to; and the complex factors in society that shape their attitudes.

Pamphlets

Crossroads, July-September, 1956. The article "The Christian and Political Decisions," by William Lee Miller. Order from Periodical Department, 425 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa. 35 cents per copy.

Questions for Christians in 1956. Raises some of the questions regarding national and international affairs that will be before the public in the fall election. 10 cents each; 10-100 copies, 5 cents each; 100-1,000 copies, 4 cents each; 1,000 or more, 3 cents each. Order from P.D.S.

Religious Ethics and the Politics of Power, by Vernon H. Holloway. Church Peace Union, 170 E. 64th St., New York 21, N.Y. 1951. 50 cents.

An excellent study booklet on the Christian faith and world politics for mature individuals and study groups.

A Political Action Handbook. Friends Committee on National Legislation. 10 cents each; \$9.50 for \$100; \$80.00 for 1,000. Order from P.D.S.

Register Christian Opinion! A Congressional directory to aid in legislative action in 1956. 10 cents each; 50 cents for 12; \$3.50 for 100. Order from Board of World Peace of The Methodist Church, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.

Program Material for Social Education and Action Leaders. Bibliography of literature in all areas of social concerns recommended by the Department. Free. Order from P.D.S.

Who Should Read *Social Progress*?

Let us suggest the following persons in every local church:

- minister
- elders
- deacons
- trustees
- Christian education committee members
- social education and action subcommittee members
- church school administrative officers
- church school teachers
- officers of older youth and young adult groups
- officers and leaders of women's organizations
- officers and leaders of the men's council
- persons representing the church in community organizations and agencies

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Club Subscriptions (to *separate* addresses)

5—10 yearly subscriptions	90 cents each
11—100 yearly subscriptions	75 cents each

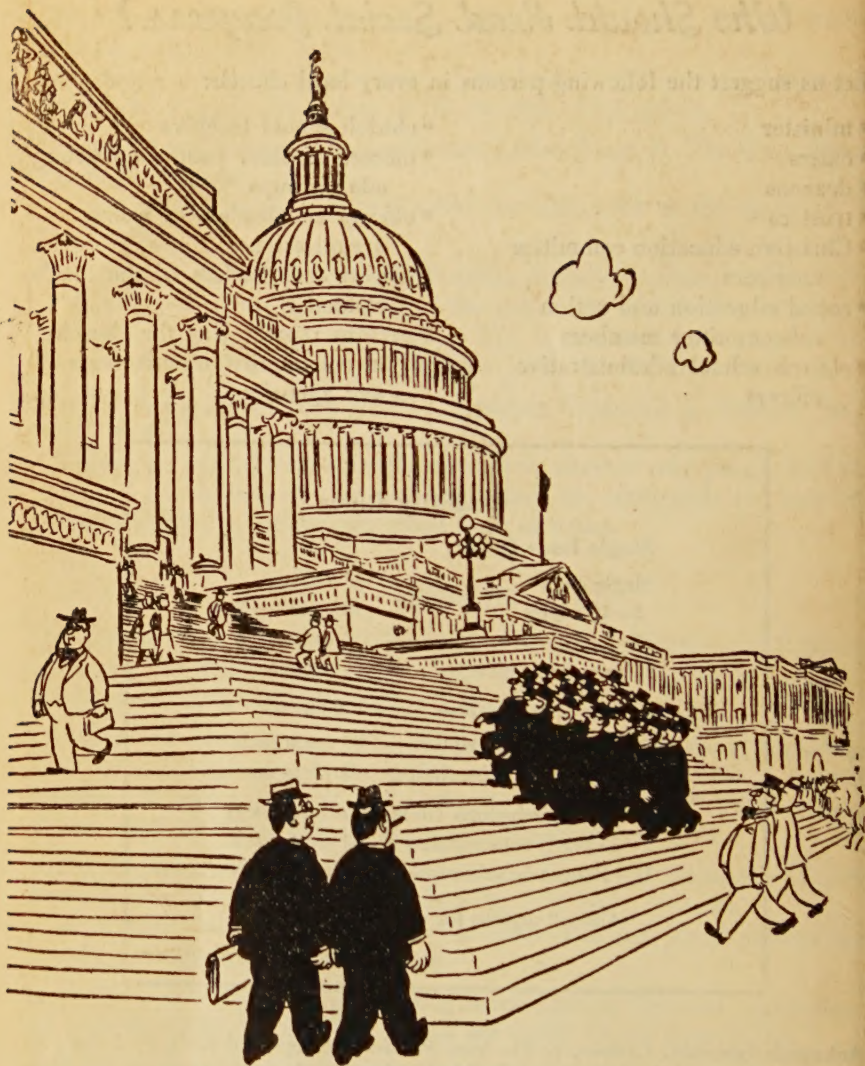
Allow 2 months for new subscriptions

Acknowledgments. Cartoon, p. 11—from *Politics for Boys and Girls*, by Robert E. Merriam (Junior Life Adjustment Booklet); chart, p. 4, and cartoon, p. 19—from *Understanding Politics*, by Robert E. Merriam and John M. Bethea (Life Adjustment Booklet), both published by Science Research Associates, 57 W. Grand Boulevard, Chicago 10, Illinois.

"Things to Remember When You Write," p. 12—from *A Political Action Handbook*. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 104 C St., N. E., Washington 2, D. C.

"Party Politics at the Conventions," p. 18—from *Choosing the President of the U.S.A.* Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., 461 Fourth Avenue, N.Y.C. 16.

"How to Run a One-Man Campaign," p. 20—from a chapter by Gus Tyler, Director, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, in *Guide to Politics—1954*. The Dial Press, 1954. The current edition, *Voting Guide—1956*, is now available.



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Some bloc or other, I imagine.